

## Message Text

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70

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2054

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AEMBASSY ANKARA 388

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 13227

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET MFA VAGUE ON MOSCOW'S CYPRUS PROPOSAL

1. SUMMARY. BRITISH AMBASSADOR GARVEY CALLED AUGUST 27 ON SEMYON P. KOZYREV, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER WHO HANDLES CYPRUS, ON INSTRUCTIONS TO SEEK CLARIFICATION OF SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR CYPRUS CONFERENCE. KOZYREV SHOWED LITTLE INTEREST IN SPELLING OUT THE PROPOSAL. BRITISH CONCLUDE THAT VAGUENESS WAS INTENTIONAL, THAT SOVIETS HAVE NO GREAT HOPES FOR ACCEPTANCE, AND THAT PROPOSAL IS BASICALLY A PLOY TO SHOW SOVIET FLEXIBILITY. END SUMMARY.

2. GARVEY ASKED KOZYREV A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS DESIGNED TO SMOKE OUT SOVIET THINKING ON PROPOSAL. WHAT IS RELATION OF THE PROPOSAL TO SC RESOLUTION 353? DOES IT SUPERCEDE 353? ARE THE SOVIETS PROPOSING A SPECIAL SC SESSION WITH NON-MEMBERS SITTING IN? OR WILL THE CONFERENCE MEET OUTSIDE THE SC FRAMEWORK? WHAT HAPPENES  
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WHEN THE SC MEMBERSHIP ROTATES? WHAT IS THE BASIS FOR VOTING?

DOES THE VETO APPLY? WHO CHOOSES WHICH NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES ARE TO PARTICIPATE AND HOW MANY OF THEM? FINALLY, HOW WOULD THE SOVIET PROPOSAL CHANGE THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND OR OVERCOME THE BASIC PROBLEMS WHICH NOW PREVENT NEGOTIATIONS?

3. KOZYREV SAID IN RESPONSE THAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE HAD FAILED AND THERE WAS NO POINT GOING ON WITH IT. RESOLUTION 353 WOULD NOT BE SUPERCEDED; THE SOVIET PROPOSAL IS SIMPLY A BETTER WAY TO FULFILL IT. 353 SHOULD NOT BE BURIED BUT SHOULD QUIETLY BE ALLOWED TO LAPSE. KOZYREV IMPLIED THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UN, BUT IT WOULD NOT TAKE THE FORM OF A MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE VETO WOULD NOT APPLY AND DECISIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN "WITH THE HELP OF CONSENSUS." ALL PROCEDURAL PROBLEMS COULD BE SETTLED WHEN THE CONFERENCE CONVENES. GUARANTEES WOULD REPLACE THE 1960 ARRANGEMENTS, WHICH ARE INEFFECTIVE. KOZYREV URGED AN EARLY REPLY TO THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. HE HAD NO ANSWER TO QUESTION OF HOW SOVIET PROPOSAL WOULD CHANGE THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND.

4. ON BASIS OF THAT TALK, UK EMBASSY HERE HAS CONCLUDED THAT SOVIET VAGUENESS ON DETAILS OF PROPOSAL IS DELIBERATE, THAT SOVIETS HAVE NO GREAT HOPES FOR ACCEPTANCE, AND THAT IT IS PRIMARILY A TACTIC TO DEMONSTRATE SOVIET FLEXIBILITY. AS BRITISH SEE IT, SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN THROWING A BALL INTO THE RING WHICH WILL GO ON BOUNCING UNTIL THE UNGA MEETS, WHEN THEY CAN ADJUST ACCORDINGLY. MOREOVER, SOVIETS WANTED TO TAKE INITIATIVE FOR ITS OWN SAKE, TO "GET ON THE FRONT PAGES." EVEN IF PROPOSAL FAILS, THEY CAN BLAME NATO FOR ITS REJECTION. IN ANY CASE, THE BRITISH BELIEVE, THE SOVIETS LOSE NOTHING FROM FURTHER DETERIORATION OF SITUATION ON GROUND.

5. ITALIAN AMBASSADOR VINCI CALLED ON KOZYREV ON AUGUST 23, THE DAY THE SOVIET PROPOSAL APPEARED IN THE PRESS. KOZYREV'S LINE WAS BASICALLY THE SAME AS IN HIS LATER CONVERSATION WITH THE BRITISH. HE CAME DOWN HARD ON THE NEED TO GIVE THE SECURITY COUNCIL A BIGGER ROLE AND ON THE URGENCY OF GETTING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL ACCEPTED. HE ALSO SAID THAT ALL TROOPS HAD TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM CYPRUS, INCLUDING THE BRITISH. (SOVIET AUGUST 22 STATEMENT SPEAKS OF WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES "FROM THE TERRITORY OF CYPRUS," WHICH THE BRITISH INTERPRET NOT TO

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APPLY TO THEIR SOVEREIGN BASE AREA.)

6. FRENCH EMBOFF TELLS US THAT JACQUES LEPRETE, HEAD OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVISION AT QUAI, WHO IS HERE FOR PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS, WAS TOLD IN SOVIET MFA THAT GREECE WAS CONSIDERING PROPOSING A UNGA SESSION ON CYPRUS. WE NOTE ALSO THAT SOVIET PRESS HAS REPORTED THAT GREECE MAY TAKE CYPRUS

ISSUE TO UNGA. AND KOZYREV TOLD THE ITALIAN  
AMBASSADOR AUGUST 23 THAT AT END OF JULY THE SOVIETS HAD  
FLOATED THE IDEA OF A SPECIAL UNGA SESSION BUT HAD DECIDED  
TO SHELVE IT IN FAVOR OF CURRENT SOVIET PROPOSAL.  
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